1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuatoputapu. 604 602 264

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his own son touch his. 593 784 [826] [755] [178]

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the *fono* (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15, p. 30). 603

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father. The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother. 593 604 [603]

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings. Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even though their father is of inferior rank. 593 604 565

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn (29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather, was subject to somebody else." 593 [171]

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 593 605 561 562

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua*, to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono*, as in the modern *fono*, the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs, not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See how big he is."

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifukà, Haapai, the beach on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing. Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere (25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man failing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand (anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind him unnecessary.

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerogative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the following manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs, the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being exposed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy.

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known as *faite*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty.

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance.

Loau

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prominent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga.

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufa Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Only the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nanasipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Muitoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tui Tofua

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

Deities of Tongatabu Island

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

has a flat surface, ending abruptly, which the sky overarches. If you ask them why the sea does not run over, the answer will be, "How "can I tell? I have never been there to see; "there are rocks, or something to border it, "probably." With regard to the sun and moon, they pass through the sky, and come back some way, they know not how. As to the spots in the moon, they are compared to the figure of a woman sitting down and beating *gnatoo:* when the moon is eclipsed, they attribute the phenomenon to a thick cloud passing over it: the same with the sun.

Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more æriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre. They have no proper word to express this fine ætherial part of man: as to the word *loto*, though it may be sometimes used for this purpose, yet it rather means a man's disposition, inclination, passion, or sentiment. The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

and power of the soul or mind. They have no clear distinction between the life and the soul, but they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right auricle of the heart) is the seat of life. They form no idea respecting the use of the brain, unless it be, perhaps, the seat of memory; (they have a distinct word for memory, *manatoo*:) they derive this notion from the natural action of putting the hand to the forehead, or striking the head gently when trying to remember any thing. The liver they consider to be the seat of courage, and they pretend to have remarked (on opening dead bodies), that the largest livers (not diseased), belong to the bravest men. They also say they have made another observation respecting this viscus, viz. that, in left-handed people, it is situated more on the left than on the right side; and, in persons that are ambidexter, it is placed as much on one side as on the other. They are very well acquainted with the situation of all the principal viscera.

They acknowledge that the *tooas*, or lower order of people, have minds or souls; but they firmly believe that their souls die with their bodies, and, consequently, have no future existence. The generality of the tooas, themselves, are of this opinion, but there are some who have the vanity to think they have immor-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

weeks, without any sort of dressing or washing; the patient was confined to his house about two months, and was not perfectly recovered till near a twelvemonth, when he seemed as healthy and as strong as ever, with scarcely any cough having supervened in the meanwhile. This was considered a very dangerous wound, and a very well conducted cure. Mr. Mariner does not know that they are acquainted either with the exact situation or existence of the intercostal arteries.

It often happens that the arrow, not being a barbed one, is withdrawn without any difficulty; but still the surgeon thinks proper to perform the operation of *cawso*, not by enlarging the wound made by the arrow, but by making another at some little distance from it, in a part which, either from judgment or education, he deems more safe and proper. In all those persons whom Mr. Mariner knew to have undergone the *cawso* it had been performed in nearly the same situation as the one above stated.

We have observed in the before-mentioned case that the wound was not washed, and it may here be noticed, that in all cases of considerable wounds produced by pointed instruments the patient is not allowed to wash himself till he is tolerably well recovered, nor to shave, cut his hair, nor his nails: for all these things

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

there was no appearance of a penis, the urine being discharged from a small orifice about the middle of the tumor, that is to say, about a foot and a half below the os pubis. The man's general health was not bad; and he could even walk by the help of a stick, without having any sling or support for his burthen: it was specifically lighter than fresh water, and considerably lighter than salt water, so as to produce much inconvenience to him when he bathed. He died at the island of Foa, about two or three months before Mr. Mariner left Vavaoo.

As to fractures, and dislocations of the extremities, it may be said that there is scarcely any native but what understands how to manage at least those that are most likely to happen; for they are very well acquainted with the general forms of the bones, and articulations of the extremities. They use splints made of a certain part of the cocoa-nut tree: for broken arms they use slings of gnatoo. In fractures of the cranium they allow nature to take her course without interfering, and it is truly astonishing what injuries of this kind they will bear without fatal consequences: there was one man whose skull had been so beaten in, in two or three places, by the blows of a club, that his head had an odd mis-shapen appearance, and yet this man had very good health, except

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

[539] to kekekeke; pea toki uu ki he fuu to maui ai hoo mo tama?" Pea ne toki fekau ke ave o tanu. Pea ne toki fekau ke ave o tanu ihonau tuafale; kae tanu kehe hono sino pea tanu kehe hono ngakau. Pea ka po nima, pea na tauaahi aipe, pea tupu ae sino koe fuu kava kae tupu ae ngakau koe fuu to; ka nae ikai tena ilo koe fuu kava. Pea lahi ai ae fuu kava moe fuu to. Pea hau tokua ae kuma o uu ihe fuu kava pea pea moui o lele o toutou pehe pe ta koe to koe fono ia oe kava.

Pea ihe ena lalahi leva ae ongo fuu akau, pea na taaki o ave kia Loau. Pea ihe ena fotu atu pe pea folofola mai leva a Loau, o hehe mai: "Kava mama koe kilia mei Faimata, koe tama a Fevanga mo Fefafa; ha pulu mono tata, ha kumete mono anga, ha taha ke apaapa, ha muka monó anga, ha taha ke hanga kiai ae olovaha." Pea nau ilo ai koe kava moe to.

[824] Ko hi tupuanga ia oe kava, pea oku tupu ae fisi ae kava o mafahifahi mo lahelahe hange ha kilia, he koe fefine nae kilia a Kavaonau. Pea koia oku inu ai ae kava o lahi pea fisi o hange ha kilia, he koe tupu ae kava mei he fefine nae kilia.

[826]

did not know that it was a kava plant, have you destroyed your child?" Then he told them to take it away and bury it. They told their people to bury it at the rear of their house; but the intestines and head were buried separately. And for five nights they kept visiting the grave (and after five nights) there grew from the head a big kava plant, while from the intestines there grew a big sugar-cane; but they The kava plant grew big and also the sugar cane. It is said that a rat came and chewed the big kava and became partly paralysed; then it chewed the sugar cane and recovered and ran about. The rat continually did this, which showed that the sugar cane had to be eaten with the kava.

And when the two plants were big, Fefafa and Fevanga dug them up and took them to Loau. And when they brought the plants to him, Loau saw them, and laughed and said: "Chewing kava, a leper from Faimata (in Eueiki), the child of Fevanga (To desire) and Fefafa (Carry on the back)! Bring some coconut fiber to strain it, a bowl to contain it, some one as master of ceremonies, some young leaves of the banana as a receiver (or cup), and some one for the bowl to be turned to." And they knew by this that it was kava and sugar cane.

That is the origin of the kava. The shoots of the kava grow and split and become limy (or gray) like the skin of a leper, because the woman Kavaonau was a leper. (Kava-o-nau, beard-of-their, their beard; or perhaps "their kava.") And those that drink too much kava become scaly like a leper, because the kava grew out of the body of a woman that was a leper.

THE ORIGIN OF KAVA[66]

(A Variant)

This is the story of how kava grew.

It is said that there was once a chief called Loau, whose ancestors resided in Lifuka, and for whom the district of Haaloau in Lifuka is named. It is said that his dwelling had eight enclosures or fences and that a great number of people lived there.

[66] Told by Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

[Line of text has been transposed and belongs where indicated--Analyst.]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

dilatoriness in cutting down the tree had provided a mode of ingress to the disturber of domestic peace; "It was your *foui* that did it."

The application is exactly parallel to the English phrase that it is So-and-so's own fault. The full expression as given above is not always used, but one frequently says, "It is his own *foui*," that is, "It is his own fault."

27. Hange ha kainikavea: Like a parasite.

Kainikavea means a tree which has taken root in the living trunk or branches of another tree finally growing so large as to envelop and conceal its host. The banyan has this habit. Proverbially the phrase is used of a supplanter, one who usurps the rights and privileges of another.

28. Hange ha lou milemila: Like a strip of *milemila*.

The *milemila* is a strip of the outer cuticle of the leaves of plants such as the coconut and fan-palm. These strips turn white when dried and bunches of them are used as head ornaments by warriors and dancers. The expression is used of things that are thin and light, and of thin people.

29. Hange ha lou vahivahi: Like a *vahivahi* leaf.

The *vahivahi* is a little plant found in considerable quantity on the island of Eua, whose leaves are in constant motion even when the breeze is scarcely perceptible. Used of one who is very obedient, is never still but always running about doing the bidding of others.

30. Hange ha mahelei to: Like a strip of sugar cane.

Applied to a thin person, a narrow piece of cloth, and generally to meagre, scanty objects, the comparison being to a thin, sharp-edged, pointed piece of the outer bark of the sugar cane.

31. Hange ha niu afangia: Like a nut-tree blown by a hurricane.

Used especially of a man who sways with laughter, like a nut-tree swayed by the wind.

32. Hange ha niu auulu: Like a nut tree with the leaves cut off.

This is Tongan banter of a tall person. A coconut tree with the leaves cut off is certainly a very lanky looking object. A touch of poignancy is given to the expression by the fact that the trees so treated are never good bearing varieties, but an unfruitful kind that nobody cares much about.

33. Hange ha tahii toa: Like heart of iron-wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*).

Hard, firm, as we say, "heart of oak."

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 824 **34. Hange ha tua-niu:** Like the midrib of a coconut leaflet.
Used of thin persons or animals, and of small, thin things in general.

826 **35. Hange ha vai fa:** Like pandanus water.
539 824 The meaning is, scattered in all directions like the water dripping on all sides from the leaves of the pandanus during a shower of rain.

36. Hange ha vao masalu ngaue: Like a field of waving *masalu*.
The *masalu* is a small plant found in quantity on the prairies of the island of Eua. These plants stand close together, and when the wind blows graceful undulations pass over the surface of the field, not unlike the waves that pass through a field of standing wheat. Applies to graceful action. (Compare No. 179.)

539 262 [137] **37. Hange kuo kai teve:** As though had eaten *teve* (*Amorphophallus campanulatus*).
This plant causes stinging and inflammation in the mouth, and may even bring on death. (A. Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 384.) By proper treatment, however, it may be made fit for food. Used of one who has done something which he rues.

539 571 **38. Heka he vaa mei popo:** Getting on the branch (that is) almost rotten.
This has its obvious application of depending on a weak support.

539 824 **39. Hoko pe fau moe fau:** Joining hibiscus with hibiscus, or hisbiscus coming after hibiscus.
The comparatively tough inner bark of the wild hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) is frequently used as cord, and the expression for hibiscus to be followed by hibiscus is very commonly employed of a strong capable man in any position being followed by another whose qualifications are equally good. It is said that in former times when a Tui Tonga died the body was not buried in the usual way, but that the head and legs were cut off and replaced by the head and legs of another man slain for the purpose. Should this victim be a chief the joining of his head and legs to the trunk of the dead Tui Tonga was said to be a joining of the hibiscus with the hibiscus. There is actual tradition of a Tui Tonga whose body had been disfigured by a rail being supplied with limbs for burial by the devotion of another chief.
[283] [554] 539 643 764 622 565

539 824 554 643 764 565 **40. Hoko ae fau moe polata:** Joining banana stem with hibiscus, or banana stem coming after hibiscus.
This is the reverse of No. 39 and indicates a strong capable man being succeeded by one of inferior qualifications. This, too, is referred to the burial of the Tui Tonga. If the man who supplied the legs and head to be interred with the Tui Tonga's trunk were of low rank a piece

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 285 cealed in this space and apparently lost; it is not really lost, however, but is there all the time. Used of that which seems to be lost but is not really so.

139. Papata ka nae lalanga: Coarse textured but woven.

This is an image from mat weaving. Although the weaving may not be first class yet it will give greater satisfaction to the one whose own handiwork it is than will another mat of better construction. The satisfaction of accomplishment. [183]

LAND CREATURES

539 825 **140. Foki e kuli ki he ene lua:** The dog returns to its vomit.

Probably, almost certainly, a mere adaptation of the Biblical expression. (compare No. 150).

141. Hange ha kuli fie jikoa: Like a dog that wants to defecate.

A dog who happens to be shut in a room and wants to defecate will run anxiously from door to door seeking a way out. Applied to a person who cannot keep still in a room, but keeps shuffling about and changing his seat.

142. Hange ha kuli viku: Like a wet dog.

The dog after bathing in the sea runs and jumps about with evident marks of the greatest pleasure. Used of one bustling and running about, and obviously bubbling with joy.

143. Mohemohe ae kuli pea fafangu: The dog is sleeping and is waked.

This is exactly like our English "Let sleeping dogs lie." The expression is said to have been first used with respect to a great man-eating dog named Fuhibubuta, which lived in a cave at Motuliki in Fiji. Tradition has it that this dog, after having destroyed all the inhabitants on his island except two brothers and their sister who eluded him by hiding in the bush, was killed by Maui Kijikiji. Another legend attributes the exploit to Muni. The origin of the expression has also been referred to the dog which formed part of the temple furniture of the god Pulotu Katoa (Whole of Pulotu) in eastern Tongatabu.

144. Hange ha pili efihia: Like a squeezed lizard.

The *pili* is the pretty little blue and green lizard so common in Tonga. He is slenderly made and if squeezed, as for instance, by being caught between two sticks, would present a very attenuated figure. Used of a very thin person. [826]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

found always to have a thin layer of the rotten wood between them. The expression therefore indicates those who should be in the closest possible contact and give the greatest support to each other, but who do not do so. Beside the ordinary Samoan term *afato*, Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language) gives *moe'ese'ese* as a name for this grub. *Moe'ese'ese* means "sleeping in different places" and apparently refers to the same peculiarity as is noted in the Tongan proverb. [For a description of the *ofato* (Samoan, *afato*) see Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, Band II, p. 430.]

BIRDS

160. Hange ha moa liaki kovi: Like a hen deserting badly.

Refers to a hen who deserts her chicks before they are able to fly to a roost and look after themselves. Applied to parents who neglect their children.

161. Hange ha momoa fiji: Like a handsome cock.

This is not quite literal, the word *fiji*, rendered handsome, being one of the descriptive terms applied by the Tongans to fowls, and indicating a dark plumaged bird that is reckoned the finest looking of all. Applied to a man of handsome bold aspect.

162. Jitua kae kio: Gone away but squeaking.

The picture is that of a man who has stolen a mother hen from her chickens. He gets off unobserved with his catch but leaves the young ones squawking until they attract attention and the theft is discovered. Used of the traces which one leaves of his wrong-doing and by which he is found out.

163. Lilolilo pea kio: Hidden and chirping.

A young chick hidden from sight will chirp and thus make itself known. Thus an action may be done secretly but there will be some slight indication by which it will be betrayed.

164. Kai lalo hakalo: Eating under the coconut scraper.

Coconut broken into small pieces by a scraper is very commonly used for feeding fowls. The thoroughly tame fowls will come and eat the nut as the pieces fall from the scraper but the wilder birds will not venture near. Used of giving up wild shy ways and becoming thoroughly domesticated.

165. Kainga a moa taane: Friendship of a breeding cock.

A couple of roosters may be friends but there will come a day when they will fight. Two high-spirited warriors may be friends but they are likely to fight at last. Friendship between those who are apt to fight with each other.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

174. Tolo veka aki paanga: Pelting the rail with money. 539 825 436

Apparently a late phrase coined since the arrival of European money. The word *paanga*, money, is also employed to designate the large flat beans or counters used in the game of *lafo*. The reference to money seems more likely. To kill the rail with pieces of money is doubly foolish. Not only is the ammunition wasted but the rail is of little use when he has been killed.

175. Tolongia pe veka kae ofi: The rail is pelted only when he is close. 539 825

If the bird does not come near the haunts of men there will be nobody to pelt him. In the same way people will not find themselves annoyed or burdened by the commands of chiefs if they keep at a distance from them. [829] [622]

176. Aoto e manu ki Toku: The bird settles on Toku.

Toku is an islet in Vavau whither sea-birds resort in large numbers. The birds may fly far out to sea looking for food but they make for Toku to rest. Used, for instance, of a man coming home to close his days, or jocularly of a lover making for the home of his sweetheart.

177. Hange ha lupe kai kotone: Like a pigeon eating nutmeg.

The pigeon straining to swallow a nutmeg nearly chokes himself, and has to stretch up his head and neck to get the nutmeg down. Used of one who has something on his mind, or who for some other reason sits in company with his head up and an absent-minded expression. The appearance of such a one is compared to that of the straining bird. (Compare Nos. 146 and 167.) [828]

178. Hange ha mata'i moho vao: Like the eye of a wild *moho*.

Moho is the name of a bird. It is very rare now but has been seen on the island of Eua. Its eye has a beautiful red iris. The expression is used of a handsome face. [826]

179. Hange ha tavake ta mafua: Like a tropic bird striking its prey.

Graceful action is here likened to the beautiful sweep of the bird's flight as it comes down to the surface of the sea, the attractiveness of its appearance being further enhanced by its striking tail feathers. (Compare No. 36.)

180. Holo ae miji ki he ovava: The *miji* flock to the *ovava* (*Ficus prolixa*). 539 824 825 137 136 571 554 622 356

The *miji* (*Aplonis tabuensis*) likes the little berries of the *ovava* tree, and flies to the *ovava* in preference to any other tree. The *ovava*, moreover, is a large noble tree and the bird may be supposed to be attracted by its distinguished appearance.. The application is that people like to flock to the home of a chief or of a wealthy man.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

539

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539 832 581

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome, but she is the choice of her husband.

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539 832 562 184

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

406. Jiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539 826

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 826 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiiji a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 304 782 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima*, hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect. [183]

539 827 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 515 302 386 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 302 [137] **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183 515

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539 571 602 826

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539 827 576 516

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *augavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539 431 183

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539 356 [342]

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539 423 571 829

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

459. Ikai ha lu loloi: Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

460. See so: Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

461. Vale pe he valeanga: Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa: The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manaia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

Malo is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

Malo is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

480. Tala tae fai tuunga: Talk without making standing place, that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 539 829 521

481. Tala tae fakaejia: Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. Tauange mo koe: I sincerely desire of you. 539

This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty. 521

483. Vale tala vale: Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. Oku longo a Tonga: Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. Avanga kai ate: Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539

The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love. 826 753 787 832

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) 622 825

485. Kuo toona hoku ate: My liver is baked. 539

This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. Foki mei he uhi: Returning from the *uhi*. 539

Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* *(Evodia hortensis)* is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end. 757 137

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gather-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 892

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [534]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 395.) 763 [285] [415] [483]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

563. Mata ki vae: Face to foot, that is, one who is face from head to foot, whose whole body is skillful and alert. 539 701

Applied particularly to the warrior who is not only bold and able in the use of his weapons but is also fleet-footed and able to escape by flight when flight is necessary. Used generally of the man who is capable and active in every direction. 554 826

564. Ngungu tau: Sounding war. 539

Applied primarily to the beating of the native drum for war. There were different ways of beating for different occasions. The war beat evidently produced a very full clear note, and *ngungu tau* has come to mean the note of the drum when it is specially resonant. Such a sound is today regarded as an omen that somebody will die; possibly a reminiscence from the real war beat which was a call to death. Like No. 308 this is used proverbially of signs that something is going to happen. 721 534

565. Pona-tuu: The exact literal translation is uncertain. It is perhaps Standing death-blow. 539 726

The thing indicated is the last effort of a warrior who seeks to slay a foe in the instant of his own fall. A great champion (*toa*) was regularly accompanied by a companion (*hoa*, comrade, *hoa-tau*, comrade in war), who was himself a doughty warrior, the friend of the greater champion in peace and his close attendant in battle. In a struggle between two champions their respective companions assisted them by attacking their adversaries from behind, each champion thus having two enemies to attend to. Should it become manifest to one of the champions that he must be overcome he would strive with his last effort to strike backwards and kill his opponent's companion as he himself fell. This last backward stroke was the *pona-tuu*. Applied generally to the final, supreme effort. 572

566. Popoto faka-Tongatapu: Tongatabu reconciliation. 539

Tongatabu was a land of war, and it was difficult to know whether a reconciliation were genuine or deceptive. 728

567. Ta e ta kae tapa e tapa: The strikers strike and the reserves are in reserve. 539 726

It was the business of the reserves to shout and tell who were slain. The meaning of the phrase appears to be, everybody doing his own job, both those whose business is the actual fighting and those whose function it is to report the progress of the battle. 701

568. Ta e toa tuu e toa: A champion struck down, a champion standing.

This means that after one great warrior is slain another steps forth to oppose the foe. The word for warrior, *To'a*, differs from the word for the tree, *toa*, (*Casuarina equisetofolia*) only in having the glottal stop, and the phrase is sometimes given the meaning that after one casuarina tree is [137] [824]

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

8052 821 [826] **Faka-ua:** Two-wise, and so on to the eighth, *faka-valu*, to which a special name seems to have been applied, *punifanga* (shutting the circle formed by the brow and top of the head). The moon is now shaped like the front of the top of the human face and head. This name may have been applied to the following night also.

10. **Fuofua-vale:** Incomplete—the moon almost full.
11. **Mahina katoa:** All moon, that is, full moon.
12. **Fe-aho-aki:** Caught between two days. When the sun has set the moon has already appeared above the horizon, and when the sun rises on the following morning the moon is still in the sky.
13. **Uluaki ahoia:** First "caught by daylight," "out all night." If one stays up all night and is still up at sunrise he is said to be *ahoia*, "day-ed." So on this night the moon is still up when the sun rises.

Then follow second, third, and so on *ahoia* nights, when the moon is caught in the sky by the rising sun, but the interval between sunset and moonrise gradually gets longer, till at last there is a night when the moon does not appear at all but is *mate*, dead. This night is the end of the month and immediately precedes Po ae faahikehe, night of the spirit.

In counting the waning moons a nomenclature is employed similar to that used in reckoning the waxing moon, but in the reverse direction, *faka-valu*, eight-wise, *faka-fitu*, seven-wise, on down to *faka-ua*, two-wise which immediately precedes the night on which the moon is dead. This nomenclature seems to run parallel with the reckoning of the *ahoia* nights for a portion of the waning moon.

[262] Ma-tofi, which means sliced *ma* (a food made by burying and fermenting breadfruit or plantain), is a name applied to the waning moon on the second *ahoia* night, when it presents the appearance of a large lump of this food with a piece sliced off the side. A European parallel would be a cheese with a piece cut off one side.

Kalipa is used to describe the moon when rather less than half and on the few succeeding nights, starting from about the time when the waning moon is *faka-valu*, eight-wise.

One informant applied the words Kalipa, Ma-tofi, and Fuofua-vale (noted above of the waxing and almost full moon) indifferently to the waxing and waning moon.

Lekeleka-mate, almost dead (?), is applied to the moon as it appears on the few nights shortly before its disappearance at the end of the month.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

be a helpless cripple on their hands had some weight with them. At last they were brought so far as to put him on a litter to carry him to the operating-room, but their hearts failed them in the end and he never came. The lad himself seemed to prefer death, so great is the Polynesian's horror of mutilation.

It is not always for human beings that Dr. Maclennan is asked to prescribe. Having been much troubled by his neighbours' pigs, he gave public warning of his intention of shooting intruders at sight. The very next night he executed his threat by moonlight, and heard the trespasser make off with an agonised squeal. Next morning he received an urgent summons from the inspector of police, a particular friend of his, to see his favourite pig which had been taken violently ill. One glance was enough to show him what ailed it, and he said, "The pig is very ill; it cannot live many hours, but if you kill and eat it at once, the meat will be perfectly wholesome." The owner took his advice, but unhappily, in carving the meat, he came across a bullet. It cost the doctor more than the value of the pig to patch the friendship up. By dint of a happy mingling of kindliness and mock ferocity he contrives to get his orders

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

intimacy would not be out of place. Among the things was a set of stamps for printing the native cloth, and when I hastened to appropriate these, the younger sister, who has kittenish manners, broke in with "Oh, but *I* made these; they are not for you, they are for this gentleman!" Webber did his best to rise to this embryonic flirtation, but it died stillborn in nods and smiles for want of an interpreter. As the conversation dragged and the ladies showed no consciousness of having discharged their mission, it was suggested that they should face the camera by way of complimentary dismissal. They were nothing loath, but the elder sister stipulated for the loan of a silk handkerchief to hide her neck. As she had the ordinary English neck of not ungraceful outline, and her sister, who had no neck to speak of, showed none of this bashfulness, our curiosity was aroused. It was thus that we discovered the Tongan ideal of female loveliness. The perfect woman must be fat — that is most imperative — her neck must be short (like the younger sister's); she must have no waist, and if Nature has cursed her with that defect she must disguise it with draperies, or submit to be "miscalled" in the streets of Nukualofa; her bust and hips and thighs must be colossal. The woman who pos-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

826 sesses all these perfections will be esteemed chief-like and elegant, and her nose will not matter, though, if she have that organ flat to the face, she will be painting the lily. There chanced to be an illustrated paper on the table, and when we showed them the wasp-waisted ladies in the fashion plates they chuckled with amusement and
826 derision. The king, whom I afterwards asked
517 for a definition of female beauty, confirmed all they said, and added a philosophical explanation of his own. He said that the human eye demanded a sufficiency in the things presented to it; if they were insufficient, it found them ugly.
826 The Tongan dress did not conceal the form as
[291] does the European; consequently Tongan ladies were expected to be satisfying in respect of the portions of their anatomy that are exposed to
826 view. We may be content with a simpler ex-
565 planation. In days gone by the chief women got more to eat than their inferiors, and *embonpoint* became a chiefly attribute. This mark of high birth being once stereotyped, men chose their wives accordingly, and the Tongan dames will grow stouter with every generation. It is not a pleasing prospect.

648 At one stage in our negotiations the king
643 began to develop a remarkable capacity for

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akaua in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilau comforted him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless he opened his mouth very wide.

Toki-langa-fonua, a great god of Eua, went to appear in a shark, called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates that Toki-langa-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded him throughout the journey. This shark was not an ordinary fish, but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore. It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark, though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of Tui-fai-ana.

Toki-langa-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their father Hemoana and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's identity.

The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing, the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to the noose at close quarters.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

752 wound, and we therefore contented ourselves by
797 administering some needful medicine. The progress of the patient, however, was slow; and very unfavourable symptoms appeared from time to time. At length, one of H.M. ships of war arrived at the island, and, under the circumstances, we requested the surgeon to examine the wound, and give his opinion. He accordingly did so, and concluded by saying that it was a case in which no European surgeon would hesitate for an instant. The injury done was so extensive, that he considered the arm must ultimately be lost, if not the life of the patient. Mafileo, however, would not hear of amputation. The native doctors therefore continued the treatment of the case, declaring their conviction that they would save both the arm and the life of the patient. After the lapse of several months, a cure was fully effected. When we left the islands, more than two years had elapsed since the war in which Mafileo received his wound; but he was then well and hearty. Although he could not use his arm, he was saved the pain of dismemberment, and had avoided an unsightliness from which the proud native mind instinctively shrinks. The
752 Tonguese would rather die than submit to the loss
826 of a limb by amputation; although, as we have
304 seen, they are by no means nice about sacrificing a joint or two of the fingers.

797 While upon this subject of medical Missionary effort, we may say that various English Protestant Missions abroad have been greatly indebted for aid in this department, to the Christian testimony, and benevolent liberality, of a gentleman of eminent scientific ability, who visited the Friendly Islands and Fiji, during the year 1855, in the prosecution

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

The tabus relating to contact with the body of a superior are naturally most marked in reference to high chiefs, but the respect paid to chiefs seems to be part and parcel of the general social system, throughout which the gradations of rank are well known.

The head and back are the most sacred portions of a chief's body. No one will touch the head of a superior nor pass close behind his back without apology. In the case of a great chief he would not pass there at all. In certain great ceremonial kava drinkings there is a high chief who sits, not in the ring where the majority of the chiefs have their place, called the *alofi*, but in the portion of the ground where the kava is prepared, called the *toua*. But although this chief is called the chief of the *toua*, he sits by himself at some distance to the rear and side of the group who are brewing the drink, so that all work in connection with the ceremony is performed without anyone's passing behind him. So in the *alofi* the attendants as they come and go always pass within the circle, before the chiefs, and never outside, behind them.

Eating and drinking in the presence of a high chief of greatly superior rank to oneself is tabu. A great chief himself may experience this inconvenience in the presence, e.g., of the king. This has been noted by old voyagers, and an example came under my notice within recent years. A white lady invited the late king of Tonga and a couple of high chiefs to dinner. One of them was able to eat freely in the presence of His Majesty, but the other, a robust young man who might have been expected to own a healthy appetite, toyed with his food in embarrassment. Afterwards he laughingly remonstrated with his hostess for her unkindness in setting such an excellent dinner before him in the presence of the king, where he was unable to do justice to it. This tabu against eating in the presence of a high chief may be overcome by retiring to a short distance and turning the back to the great lord.

Leaving the matter of eating and drinking to return to respect to the person of superiors, we find that if a chief be sitting with some utensil close behind him which the people about wish to use, their only hope is that the chief will himself notice their predicament and tell someone to come and take what is required. Otherwise they

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical precision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear (*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-hc* "wandering manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tongatabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus-

535 Teunga

[538] This motif is usually used when teunga meaning 'garments' or wearing apparel, are referred to in poetry. Teunga consists of a performance of M.I.c.6. with one arm and then M.I.c.6. with the other arm.

'Ofa; Loto

[826] 'Ofa means 'love' and loto is the seat of one's affection. In the Tongan view of the world both of these concepts center on the [538] chest. When either 'ofa or loto in poetry is to be expressed by haka, it is done by touching the chest. This can be done in a variety of of ways, but perhaps the best liked is to touch the chest first with one hand, then the other, and finally with both. The touch is a touch of the first pad of the fingers, and may be two, three, or four [129] fingers. 'Ofa or loto do not name the movement. If I would demonstrate the movement, however, and ask for a term, the answer would often be 'ofa or loto meaning that this movement sometimes interprets these poetic concepts. The motif consists of M.I.c.8. followed by M.I.c.5.

Touching Motifs

Touching motifs consist of various combinations of clapping or touching the hand to other parts of the body. The two kinds of clap have different kinds of sound, thus the type of clap may depend on the kind of sound that is desired or it may depend on the kind of

77: Whitcombe OU9 Tonga OU9

164
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[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192, pp. 14-19.]

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Toa. An emetic. The trunk of the tree is scraped and the juice extracted from the pulp. 278
The trunk of the tree is scraped and roasted to make *vai pala* (a medicine). 757
Toi. For *faka avaga* (one possessed of the evil spirit). The trunk of the tree is scraped to obtain the juice. 824 192
Tono. For dysentery (*tuutuutoto*). (See *milo i tahi.*)
For *faka avaga.* (See *lautoln.*)
Toto. For children with fever, stiffness of jaws, or fixed eyes. The trunk of the tree is scraped and pounded to extract the juice for a drink.
Toume. For wounded eyes. The dried sheath of the coconut flower (*toume*) is lighted and held by the native doctor. The patient is told to gaze into a coconut shell filled with sea water until he sees the reflection of the burning *toume* held above. As soon as he sees this reflection the doctor plunges the *toume* into the water and the eye is cured. [755]
Tutu'ull. Tonic or remedy for a relapse in any illness. The leaves are pounded to extract the juice.
Uhl. For boils (*hagatamaki*). This remedy is used for a special type of boil (*mole fua*) which does not come to a head. The plant is mixed with oil and painted on the boil.
For stomach pains (*haga tamaki*), also for toothache and gumboils. The plant is grated or pounded.

WORDS USED IN DESCRIBING THE HUMAN BODY

826
192

Ahu: gall.
Aofinima: palm of the hand.
Aofivae: sole of the foot.
Ate: liver.
Atebili: spleen.
Ateivae: calf of the leg.
Avaiihu: nostril.
Bali: pubes.
Bito: navel.
Bule: pit of the stomach.
Bulobulaivae: ankle joint; bottom of the toes.
Ekenaki: voice.
Elelo: tongue.
Faefine: armpit.
Faimanava: stomach.
Fajitua: loins.
Fatafata: breast; chest.
Fatu: abdomen.
Fofoga: head; face (applied to chiefs).
Fogafoga: appearance; head and face.
Fulufulu: hair.
Gaajinima: finger nails.
Gaajivae: toenails.
Gakau: entrails.
Gao: double teeth.
Geejinima: finger nails.
Geejivae: toenails.
Gutu: mouth.
Halakava: beard.
Hi: semen.
Hiligaumoji: upper lip.
Hilo: anus.
Hiviivae: shin; fore part of the leg.
Huhu: breasts.
Hui: bone.
Huihalalulu: rib bone.
Huifohe: shoulder blades.
Huikouahe: cheek bone.
Ifo: taste.
Ihu: nose.
Jino: body.
Kakano: flesh.
Kalava: vein; blood vessel.
Kanoimata: eyeball.
Kanoimatauli: pupil of the eye.
Kauinima: fingers.
Kauvae: legs and feet.
Kemo: eyebrow.
Kete: belly.
Kia: neck.
Kiaivae: hollow of the leg under the knee.
Kili: skin.
Kofuua: kidneys.

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 826

Koua: lower part of the abdomen.
Kouahe: cheek.
Kouhaga; groin; inside of the thigh.
Ku: stump of the little finger.
Kubu: joint.
Kubukubu: joints.
Kumukumu: chin.
Lae: forehead; brow.
Laho: scrotum.
Laumalie: soul; spirit; life.
Laumata: eyelids.
Loimata: tears.
Lougutu: lips.
Louhiinima; fingers.
Louhiivae: toes.
Loulu: hair of the head.
Maamaa: lungs.
Mafihuga: temper; disposition.
Mafu: heart.
Manava: womb; breath.
Mata: face; countenance; eye.
Mataihuhu: nipple.
Mimi; urine.
Moga; throat.
Muagutu: lips.
Muavae: toes and fore part of the foot.
Muivae: heel.
Nifo: tooth.
Nima: hand.
Noko: hip.
Noua: sinews.
Tae: excrement.
Taga: large intestine.
Tagamimi: bladder.
Teenifo: gums.
Tega; thigh.
Tole: uterus.
Tootooga: entrails.
Toukubu: limb; section between two joints.
Tua: back.
Tuakia: back of the neck.
Tuamata: outside of the eyelid.
Tubu: groin.
Tugaivae: ankle.
Tuhu: finger.
Tuiinima: elbow.
Tuke; knuckle.
Tumuaki: crown of the head.
Tuugaiku: buttocks.
Tuumua: front teeth.
Ua: neck.
Uho: umbilical cord.
Uji: buttock.
Ule: penis.
Ulu: head.
Uluboko: skull.
Uma: shoulder.
Uto; brains.
Vae: foot.
Vakavaka: rib bone.

WORDS USED IN DISEASE AND MEDICINE

192

Aahu. Smarting; pungent.
Aana. Deep and large, as applied to ulcers and sores.
Aanu. To spit; saliva.
Aanuaga. A vessel for spittle.
Anaukolo. Griping pains in the intestines.
Afaafa. Strong; healthy; robust.
Afua. To long; to desire, as in pregnancy.
Akafiji. To be restless.
Akau. A common term applied to medicine, used alone or with another word, as *foi akau*, a pill.
Ake (Akeake). Convalescent.
Akeaga. A reviver.
Alaga. The seat of a disease.
Aleale. Weak; failing.
Alo. The abdomen, applied only to chiefs.
Amohi. To use gentle friction in order to allay pain.
Aukai. To fast.
Avaia. Difficult to cure.

Babababa (Totolo; Unofiiaki). A film on the eye.
Babata (Baha; Bata). To break out, as in a skin eruption.
Baga. A cicatrice; a scar.
Bahui. Lean; all bones.
Bakabaka (Bakabakau; Bakaukau). Spare; slender; wanting flesh.
Baku. The motion of the throat in one near death.

/42 cont./

278 178 old Tongan medicines and methods of treatment still hold their own more or less successfully in most families, and there are even Tongan [759] doctors who apply them when pills fail. Whereas a few of the simpler herbal medicines are familiar to many Tongans and can be easily prepared if necessary, most of the remedies are known only to certain "experts" (male as well as female) who have inherited their knowledge and whom people like to consult for advice and help.

757 As examples of surviving Tongan cures we mention the following treatments. (95)

95. From Sione Matoto on Nomuka, 1952.

Some of these have lost their ancient links with the belief in spirits and magic, (96)

[113] 96. Cf. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 240ff; E.E.V. Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga" /cited in English/ in Polynesian Sociological Journal, vol. XXXII, no. 3. 1923. pp. 136-142.

and are regarded simply as useful medicines, especially by younger and middle-aged natives.

1. Headache. Take six leaves of the tutu'uli and tear each leaf in half. Either the left or the right halves are used, depending on the side of the head that pains the patient. These halves, wrapped in a clean white piece of tapa are chewed and then squeezed out on the patient's eyes and nose so that the liquid runs into both eyes and nostrils. If the diagnosis has been correct, the patient will feel better in a few minutes.

2. Headache (recurring, but only at specific hours of the day). [826] The man (or woman) administering the treatment uses the sole of his or her left or right foot, corresponding to the aching side of the patient's head, and with it very gently touches the affected part. Then the head of the patient is massaged with uhi leaves (Evodia